

## Message Text

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17

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 AF-06 ARA-06 EA-06 NEA-10 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

OMB-01 ACDA-05 EB-07 TRSE-00 OIC-02 SAJ-01 SAM-01

CU-02 BIB-01 /110 W

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O R 081045Z JUL 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4387

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 5273

FOR EUR/RPM

EO: 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR XG

SUBJ: CSCE: PEACEFUL CHANGE OF FRONTIERS - STATE OF PLAY

1. AS DEPARTMENT IS AWARE, SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRINCIPLES, AND TO A LARGE EXTENT THE CONFERENCE AS A WHOLE, IS BEING HELD UP PENDING RESOLUTION OF REGISTRATION OF THE US SENTENCE ON PEACEFUL CHANGES OF FRONTEIRS. ROMANIAN DELEGATION IS ALONE IN ITS CONCERN THAT LIMITING FRONTIER CHANGES TO "BY PEACEFUL MEANS AND BY AGREEMENT" IS NOT SUFFICIENT. ROMANIANS SAY THEY HAVE BEEN COERCED INTO CHANGES OF FRONTIERS THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS SEVERAL TIMES IN THEIR RECENT HISTORY AND WOULD LIKE FORMULATION ALSO TO IMPLY NECESSITY TO RESPECT THE SOVEREIGN EQUALITY OF THE STATES INVOLVED. CONSEQUENTLY ROMANIANS ARE SEEKING A LINKING PHRASE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE PEACEFUL CHANGES FORMULATION SUCH AS "IN THIS CONTEXT".

2. FRG DEL HAS STRICT INSTRUCTIONS NOT TO CHANGE PEACEFUL CHANGE  
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FORMULATION IN ANY WAY AND IN FACT NOT EVEN TO NEGOTIATE THE SUB-

JECT WITH THE ROMANIANS.

3. AT FOUR-POWER MEETING ON THE AFTERNOON OF JULY 7 SOVIET HEAD OF DELEGATION REQUESTED THREE-POWER ASSISTANCE IN ACHIEVING A JOURNAL ENTRY TO THE EFFECT THAT ALL CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS, EXCEPT ONE, SUPPORT REGISTRATION OF PEACEFUL CHANGES SENTENCE AND ITS LOCATION AS PENULTIMATE SENTENCE IN SOVEREIGN EQUALITY PRINCIPLE. IN PRIVATE CONSULTATION PRIOR TO EVENING MEETING JULY 7 FRG MADE IT CLEAR THAT IT COULD ACCEPT ONLY AN ENTRY IN THE JOURNAL THAT PEACEFUL CHANGES FORMULATION IS ACCEPTABLE FOR REGISTRATION IN THE FIRST PRINCIPLE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO ITS LOCATION. ROMANIAN HEAD OF DELEGATION STATED HE COULD NOT AGREE TO THIS AND PERSISTED IN REQUIRING AN ADDITION AS ABOVE TO BEGINNING OF TEXT.

4. AT EVENING MEETING ROMANIAN DEL SURPRISED THE SUB-COMMITTEE BY REQUESTING A COFFEE BREAK TO SEEK A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM. DURING BREAK ROMANIAN DEL PRESENTED A PACKAGE OF ADJUSTMENTS TO FIRST PRINCIPLE INVOLVING INCLUSION OF PEACEFUL CHANGE FORMULATION IN FIRST PARAGRAPH JOINED TO PRIOR SENTENCE BY A SEMICOLON, REARRANGEMENT OF CERTAIN ELEMENTS OF FIRST PARAGRAPH, ACCEPTANCE OF TITLES FOR ALL PRINCIPLES AND ACCEPTANCE OF ROMANIAN BRACKETED PARAGRAPH CONCERNING A PAN-EUROPEAN SECURITY SYSTEM. FRG AND SOVIET DELS RESPONDED THAT THIS WAS TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE. AFTER LONG DISCUSSION ROMANIANS MADE "FINAL" OFFER TO INCLUDE PEACEFUL CHANGES LANGUAGE AS SECOND ELEMENT IN FINAL PARAGRAPH, WHERE US REP HAD CALLED FOR ITS REGISTRATION, BUT JOINED TO FIRST SENTENCE BY A SEMICOLON. IN ADDITION, HE WISHED FIRST SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH TO START WITH "ACCORDINGLY". FRG DEL RESPONDED THAT HE DID NOT LIKE "ACCORDINGLY" AND THAT SEMICOLON WAS TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE. USSR DEL AGREED. US REP SUGGESTED DROPPING WORD "FURTHERMORE" IN FINAL SENTENCE, WHICH IS AN AGREED DRAFTING CHANGE AMONG THE FIFTEEN IN ANY CASE, IN ORDER TO MAKE IT CLEARER THAT PEACEFUL CHANGES FORMULATION IS RELATED TO FIRST SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH AND THEREFORE TO SOVEREIGN EQUALITY CONCEPT. US DEL LATER ADVISED THIS DRAFTING CHANGE IN RECONVENED SUBCOMMITTEE AND WAS SUPPORTED BY FRG HEAD OF DEL. ROMANIANS RESPONDED THAT THIS MINOR DRAFTING CONCESSION WOULD BE INSUFFICIENT.

5. COMMENT: SIGNIFICANCE OF JULY 7 EVENING MEETING WAS THAT FOR THE FIRST TIME ROMANIANS CONCEDED THAT THEY COULD TAKE PEACEFUL  
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CHANGES FORMULATION UNCHANGED IN THE FIRST PRINCIPLE. THEY WERE UNWILLING, HOWEVER, TO ALLOW A JOURNAL STATEMENT THAT ALL DELS COULD ACCEPT PEACEFUL CHANGES FORMULATION IN FIRST PRINCIPLE UNTIL DRAFTING ON THE "CONTEXT" OF THE FORMULATION HAD BEEN DECIDED.  
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